1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

312 construction requires a great amount of skill. Where the sides of the valley are precipitous and rocky, the ditches are led around through olive logs hollowed out with the adze and supported by long wooden props; at times ditches are led even from one side of the valley to the other by means of these olive-wood troughs. The distribution of the *targa* coincides with that of *tikerathin*, or terraces, except in the lowland alluvial plains of Ajdir, Tiguisas, and other Mediterranean deltas, where irrigation is carried on without terraces. Irrigation is locally supposed to have been invented by the men of Iherrushen and Ikhuanen in the northern Gzennaya, and expert *targa* makers from these places are sent for to construct and repair ditches all over the Rif.

hassi, the well. Wells are constructed by itinerant craftsmen from the region of the [463 Draa, who wander about throughout the Rif seeking employment. They are never molested, since they are considered benefactors of mankind, and are paid well for their work. These 465] men generally earn as much as twenty dollars for the construction of an average well, and find employment chiefly in flat arid country where there are no springs and where wells are a necessity.

241 **Communism in Agriculture.** The Riffians, living as they do close to the soil and often
735 not distantly removed from the prospect of starvation, have developed several social de-
476 vices whereby the poor may be prevented from perishing and the rich compelled partially to support them. These charitable practices are so ingrained that no one able to act as a benefactor to the poor would venture to criticize them in public or refuse to take part in them. They concern the three vegetable products which seem most deeply entwined with Riffian life: rye, grapes, and olives.

When a man wishes to sow rye on a mountain slope, he invites as many men as wish to do so to help him. Most men who have nothing else of importance to do accept the offer, and no one refuses without an adequate excuse. In this way a man of moderate means is assured of a plentiful crop of rye, to make up for his lack of other foodstuffs.

The crew works diligently from sunrise to sunset, after which they climb downhill to the house of the owner of the rye. The latter's womenfolk have meanwhile busied themselves preparing as ample a meal for the workers as the family's means will allow, and all eat and spend the evening together. If the family cannot provide very abundant rations, the workers seldom complain, since they consider their participation in the work as a form of charity, and their partaking of the food as a social gratification to the providers of it.

Similarly, in reaping season, anyone who wishes may come unbidden and help gather in the grain, whether it be rye, barley, or wheat, and is assured of an adequate meal at the end of the day in payment. In this way people who have finished their own work may be fed without drawing on their own supplies. Gleaning is left to the poor of the village.

241 If two farmers who own adjoining fields or terraces possess each but a single cow, they
476 yoke these together and plough their land in common. No family is without a cow, and since ploughs are constructed by the farmers themselves, or by neighbors especially adept at the art, without payment, the situation of a man with land and no cow or plough does not arise.

241 Irrigation ditches which water the tillage of more than one man are subject to communal
312 care. Each farmer is assigned a definite amount of water during each season when it is required, the amount depending on the amount of land requiring irrigation. The water is measured by days and half-days. Each season the farmer must send out a man for every

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 Any oil remaining over the three or four cups so given is the property of the man who
[735] has pressed it, unless a poor man without trees comes to the press and asks for some. Such demands cannot be refused and each suppliant must be given a cup.

241 Besides charitable assistance and work done in anticipation of remunerative charity,
465 there are two types of definite agricultural contract by which one man who has not enough land to support himself and his family may acquire sufficient provender to last his household through the winter. The first is that by which a poor man binds himself to assist a richer farmer in all agricultural tasks in which he may engage. In return for this he receives a fifth of the total grain crop, a fourth of the leguminous plants and vegetables harvested, a third of the product of the fruit, olive, and nut trees, and a third of the grapes.

The rich farmer hires these share-laborers (who are called *akhemes*,[1] plural *ikhemesen* or "fifths," because of their return in grain) because he is not able to care for all of his land himself, owing to its extensive size. If the property of a rich farmer is so extensive that he is unable to cultivate it with the aid of one share-laborer, he will hire two, and these will split a fifth, a fourth, and a third of the various types of produce. No matter how many men a farmer employs he never gives more than the stipulated fractions, which are equally divided among the workers.

241 When a man owns property which he has no intention of working himself, he can rent it
427 out in return for one half of the produce. This type of contract is used by the Beni Bu Yahyi in renting out the northerly portions of their territory to farmers who come down from Galiya to work the land, the Beni Bu Yahyi not being as interested in agriculture.

241 The share-laborer is often a stranger in the village of his employment, having left his
166 home through shame of having his poverty advertised in his own village, or more often through fear of punishment for some crime. The migrations of these share-laborers has done more to cause infiltrations of blood from tribe to tribe than any other factor, since the immigrant usually marries into the group of his adoption.

241 Wealth is not a stable thing in the Rif, any more than it is in more modern types of
556 society. Despite charitable practices and opportunities for outside work, many families find themselves on the verge of starvation in or near January and February, and are willing to sell anything within reason to obtain enough food to last them until the next harvest. Others, more industrious, who have worked their land to its limit and spent the rest of their time helping others for pay, may have more food than they require and be willing to sell some of it, at a premium. They generally demand land in payment. Working this land to its limit the following year, they may pile up an even greater surplus than before, and thus before many years may become large landowners and relatively rich men, ready, in their turn, to hire as share-laborers the people from whom they bought the land.

[558] Thus the retention of property depends upon whether or not it is worked diligently, and positions of wealth may be reversed in less than a generation.

FOOD PREPARATION AND EATING

252 The different types of food, including their methods of preparation, may be classified as follows: (1) cereal preparations antedating bread, (2) bread and breadmaking, (3) preparation of vegetable products alone, (4) dishes containing meat, (5) fish, (6) eggs, (7) milk and

[1] The feminine form of this word signifies a political division. See p. 92.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The akhammās contract is the most common type, but also current is a slightly different class of association, called *ifarādhen* (Arabic *bil-fard*): two farmers who own plots of land more or less equal in size, but who do not have enough equipment to plow them on their own, join forces; the harvest is divided equally between the two parties. This form is particularly prevalent if each man concerned only possesses one cow or one mule. A third kind of association, called *dhūrī*, is very common in irrigable land; in this, one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment (animals and plow). The actual work, which may be done by an *akhammās*, and the payment of other hired personnel to help with the reaping, is taken care of by both parties, and the net profit, deducting one-fifth for the *akhammās*, is divided in half.

Except in the Bay of Alhucemas, where irrigation is practiced without terracing, and in the valley of the Upper Ghīs, where there is much terracing but little irrigation, irrigation ditches *(tharga*, pl. *tharghiwīn)* and terraced fields, gardens and orchards are everywhere else to be found jointly in Aith Wuryāghil; the distribution of the one is virtually the same as that of the other. Ownership of irrigation water is largely dependent upon ownership of land, for in Aith Wuryāghil the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and the waters which pass through his territory belong to him. Water is utilized by human beings, animals, lands and industries; rights of preference are in that order, the industries being represented by water mills (3), the owners of which receive one-tenth of the grain which the mills grind as their commission.

The Rif, however, is a land not favored by nature, and water is a perennial problem. In Aith Wuryāghil, the people in the mountains receive first use of the water, while those in the Bay of Alhucemas irrigate with the remainder. The turns of each family in getting water are based on the principle of equal distribution, and natural means are used to calculate the time. Men have first call on water consumption, and the rest is reserved for women, for whom it is custo-

(3) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: El Rif (2.ª parte-La Ley Rifeña): II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta 1939, pp. 101-138.

000
[465] 97--The fqih is paid by each nuclear family of the jma'th in barley every year, but he receives absolutely nothing from property in habus.

[251] 98--The office of amarras is nonexistent in the Central Rif, where storehouses, either individual or collective, are unknown, and each man keeps his grain reserves in an underground deposit (thasrafth) in the patio of his house.

[804] 99--In the days of the Republik, a mudd was reckoned at 48 kilos; in
[114] Spanish times, 50; and since independence, 56. This puts some doubt on the accuracy of Blanco's figures.

[114] 100--Blanco erroneously thought that collective storehouses once existed in the Rif, and he cites Ajdir and an unnamed place in the Sanhajan tribe of the Bni Hmid as examples; and he also thought that the institution should be revived, as a sort of bank or treasury or center of credit.

101--What Blanco no doubt means to say here is that the notables whose names are written down in this qanun are ipso facto no longer anonymous, and that the first step on the rise to personal power is the shedding off of anonymity.

102--In Rifian, imqqranen dh-imzzyanen, and in the Arabic of qanuns, "al-kibar wa al-sighar": the terms refer to all the men and youths
[114] (or boys) of a given locality. Perhaps this is the root of Blanco's
[562] interesting, if in some ways rather questionable, notion of women, who do not have the same status as their menfolk, as minors.

103--The notion of qa'id came in with 'Abd al-Krim, but no Rifian living can remember the day when there was no qadi, even if only matters pertaining to marriage, divorce and land fell under his jurisdiction.

[114] 104--What Blanco probably means to say here is "Arabization" rather
[199] than "Islamization"; there is much more than just a subtle distinction between the two, and even during the period of the "Republik", a Rifian would have been mortally offended if anyone did not consider him a good Muslim.

105--Bu-mwarith: an official who takes over in the name of the government the property, real or movable, of any person who has died without issue or heirs.

106--Ukil l-ghuyab: inheritance or property representative for absentees; the man's function is a literal translation of his title.

107--This traditionally given etymology seems highly doubtful, for the Rif at least, and the term should rather read aitarba'in or aitharba'in (sing. utharba'in), which changes the meaning to the far more plausible one of "people of the people".

[114] 108--This seems to be purely an ex post facto explanation on Blanco's part and has no relation to reality. The notion of Ait-arba'in as people of the forty, in which there literally were 40 councilmembers, d o e s e x i s t in some areas (i.e. the Rgibat Bedouins of the Western Sahara), but it is unknown in the Rif.

person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

243 sickles and the women carrying the grain stalks to the threshing areas. The threshing floors are generally merely a circle of dirt ground, although in some areas they are paved. The stalks [231] are placed on this circular floor and mules, donkeys, or cattle are driven about inside the circle, trampling the grain and separating it from the chaff. The grain is further refined by hand-winnowing done by the women. The straw is accumulated in circu- [231] lar stacks to be preserved as food for the animals during the winter months. When relatives have worked a common piece of land 243 465 the yield is divided by measuring off the appropriate amount of grain in straw baskets. If the division is on a one-for-one basis, each alternate basket will go to one of the parties. If the division is at some other ratio, the number of baskets will accordingly be at that ratio. If the land was ploughed, planted [427] and harvested by a akhammas, a sharecropping laborer, the owner of the land will receive four bushels out of every five, the remaining fifth going to the akhammas.

241 Throughout the summer the vegetables, fruits and nuts are harvested as they come ripe. In late summer and early autumn the [465] maize and grapes are harvested. Once again, if the labor of several families or of akhammas has been involved, straw baskets are used to allot out to each man his appropriate portion. It is 585 during this period, in the months of August and September, that 221 [241] weddings are held. The agricultural cycle has been completed and there is spare time to arrange the necessary items for a wedding. Also this is the period in which the optimum amount of food is

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grama has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio [302] for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grama).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools [658] [178] which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by [425] some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. [782] Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet [241] some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who [212] has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. [794] He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth 793 in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 794 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 465 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while generally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

793 794 465 students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

754 789 In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in 791 754 Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif [793] [799] society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female 754 791 witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed 562 on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. [888] This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

754 791 789 793 The two classes of sorcerer use different magical techniques. The fqih disperses charms and spells by writing passages from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qualities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood [443] from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

423 The number of men under such association is difficult to estimate
427 though I have the impression it is large. No man whom I inter-
464 viewed who might be roughly classified as a leader in the community had less than one person working for him in such a relationship.

427 The most prominent and common association is that of the
464 akhammas or sharecroppers. The akhammas is a laborer who voluntarily contracts to contribute all the physical labor necessary for the total production process of a piece of land. The landowner provides the land itself, the seed, fertilizer, plough and any other equipment, and the animal power. The akhammas provides all labor, from the initial ploughing to the ultimate harvesting. [465] For his services he receives exactly one-fifth of the yield, [466] hence the name which derives from hamsa or 'five.' The akhammas also receives the hand-me-down clothes of the master and often a meal each day. Since the activities of the akhammas entail his
427 constant presence around or even inside the household, he has far
464 greater access to the wives of notables than other males. A man
562 of sufficient wealth to employ an akhammas would probably isolate his wife from contact with male society. It is a myth that the Berbers do not seclude their women. The only ones who are not secluded from male society are the wives of poor men who must contribute their labor to the production process. Such women are, of course, the vast majority. The akhammas has more contact with the wives of the notable class than any other male not closely related to the family. Since the akhammas must consult

427 the wife about household tasks and often takes his meals inside
464 the central patio, he is on rather intimate (for the Rif) terms
562 with these women. In such a close and anomalous situation, there
[602] is a preference on the part of the master to hire a poor relative, especially of his wife, as a servant. By hiring a man of the wife's family or of a family which includes the wife's relatives by marriage, one lessens the danger of too close a relationship between wife and akhammas.

427 While both partners in the akhammas arrangement seek to
464 establish a contract which is divorced from social conflict over
466 women, they are nonetheless in basic conflict along incipient
465 class lines. The akhammas, at least in the contemporary situa-
565 tion, regards himself as being exploited by his patron in that the wage scale is fixed and involves difficult manual labor without any guarantees of remmeration. While he is free to negotiate his contract with whomever he so desires, his wage depends directly on the size of the crop yield for any one year. The master with greater reserves of resources suffers only an inconvenience if the crop yield is low. The sharecropper, on the other hand, has few if any reserves, and any reduction in the portion of his share has serious repercussions on his ability to maintain his household. The akhammas is especially aware of the inequity of this arrangement as wage opportunities open up and he becomes aware that salary can be negotiated with commensurate rewards in cash. Most ikhammasen prefer to get into the category of wage

427 laborer, especially as a migrant worker in Europe or Algeria,
464 where salaries are high by Riffian standards.
465
466 On the other end of the spectrum are the landowners who
565 regard the akhammas as the true beneficiary of the association. They argue that since they provide all the elements of production except labor, they are being exploited by the working class. The akhammas provides only his manual labor for a few weeks of ploughing and again for a few weeks at harvest time. Their contention is that although the work is arduous, it spans over a relatively short period of time for which the akhammas receives enough to meet his subsistence needs for the year. The remainder of the year the akhammas is free to contract for such labor as is available. The property owner, however, depends exclusively on his crop and thus does not have the additional revenues which the worker earns throughout the rest of the year. If the crop yield is low, the master will always see to it that the worker gets something, and besides the poor can apply for government relief while the rich can not. I suggested to several owners that they (123) engage a wage laborer for the short duration of actual work involved in performing the cultivation tasks but was met with only stony silence at the notion of such a scheme. I did not encounter and no one ever spoke of an instance in which agricultural labor was paid for in daily or weekly wages. Since the property class is in a position to change the system but does not, presumably the akhammas arrangement works to their benefit.

464
465 Although the akhammas association is the most prevalent, it is only one of several such arrangements. Another sort of laborer is the ankari, who is hired for sewing and odd jobs about the house. His salary is not fixed and he is apparently paid in cash and clothing (Hart 1956:75). Another type of traditional [233] work association is the amlkhan, who is a youth employed to herd a man's goats and sheep. He ". . . is hired for a fixed period . . . [and] gets a non-stipulated sum at the end of his contract" (Hart, ibid.:75). Such an arrangement is graphically portrayed in Bowles' translation of Charhadi's autobiographical novel, A Life Full of Holes. Another form of association is the arabba' who cultivates household gardens, orchards, and trees. He is given a fourth of the fruit and vegetable crops; if the terrain is difficult to terrace, his portion is adjusted (Hart 1956:75). [256] Most mill owners employ an assistant to do the grinding, and from the mill owner's portion the worker receives a fourth of the grain.

The common element of this sort of association seems to be that the salary the laborer earns is determined by customary regulations rather than by the supply and demand of workers. It [571] is an association between the elite and the poor which is based [565] on a fixed compensation and outside of any regulation by the market economy.

675 A correlate of this situation in which commercial arrangements are based on social factors is the irrelevance of written contracts. Whereas contractual agreement forms the basis of most

1;Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
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[Village of Ubed 'Abd al-Mumin]

had died by the rifle, and many of their brothers as well. Some provision must be made for young widows and their helpless children. To the human population of fifty-seven was added an animal roster of one hundred and twenty-five head: 10 cows, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 80 goats, 1 donkey, 2 mules, and 16 dogs. Six of the men owned the goats, and one the sheep; three men had none. Each man, however, owned a cow, for all needed milk.

There were a total of 923 food-bearing trees—more than 16 to a person, or 92 to a family. These were divided as follows: almonds, 525; figs, 272; olives, 71; pomegranates, 33; apricots, 16; oranges, lemons, and walnuts, 2 of each. Every man owned at least 4 almond, 15 fig, and 3 olive trees. Dried almonds and figs are absolutely necessary to sustain life in late winter once the grain has been eaten, while olive oil is the essential fat. The other kinds of trees produce useful fruits, but the Riffians can get along without them.

In these high valleys arboriculture is the main business of the people, and they prune, water, graft, and fertilize their trees with extreme care. Compared to this activity the Riffian spends but little time in his fields; he owns enough tillage for only about four weeks' plowing time a year, with a range of from twenty to forty-five days among the ten men. Those who have little are hired to work for those who have more, on the ancient system of granting a fifth to the plowman. Work on the vegetable gardens rates a fourth, while he who cares for another man's trees receives a third of the fruit, aside from windfalls which are for women, children, and the poor.

Unfruitful trees have long ago been felled to make way for the silver-leaved olives and the lofty walnuts. Up high on the ridges to either side one can still cut cedar and even a few pine. Below the man-made tree line is a zone of brushy goat pasture, and below this, but still steep, the vineyards. Here the families gather in September to pick the grapes, which they dry into raisins to be eaten with the figs and almonds. Up the valley a way there are two public installations, a small turbine water mill of familiar appearance, which belongs to the grandsons of its builder, and an olive press, which serves several villages. This olive press is actually near the center of another village, inhabited by holy people who never fight. Their holiest member regulates the protocol of olive pressing, aside from serving as imām to lead the Friday prayer, in which the grown men of all the villages of that part of the valley participate.

/293 cont./

634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
• [465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemaicha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.